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## THE CONCEPTION OF A SACRAMENT IN ST. AUGUSTINE

(On occasion of a recent article in *The Christian East*).

"**N**ON habent Dei charitatem qui Ecclesiae non diligunt unitatem," "they have not the love of God who do not love the unity of the Church" (St. Augustine, *De bapt.* III, 16, 21), and the converse is happily borne out in our days, when men of good will show more and more their desire for Christian unity. We Catholics, who know that Christ's Church alone can give that unity, that Church which is and always has been manifestly one, believe that, under the grace of God, the union of our separated brethren within His fold will best be obtained through a spirit of charity which "thinketh no evil but rejoiceth with the truth." We gladly acknowledge the true and the good wherever they are found, and at the same time we wish to unfold before others the infinite riches of Catholic doctrine, certain that it contains all that is true and good in their own.

There is a danger, even in a sympathetic approach to the Church's teaching, of isolating or splitting some element in her doctrine, and then of arguing that it is inadequate to the content of Christian revelation. After this an opposition theory may be evolved with plausibility. But this is certainly not the way to unity. No more, of course, would it be the way if Catholics minimised or glossed over any of the Church's dogmas, or denied any divergencies which may really exist between her teaching and that of others. But they can endeavour to set forth the Catholic doctrine in its true nature and proportions, and then—*praevalere veritas*.

What we have said about Catholic doctrine in general may be applied to its sacramental teaching. This belongs in its essence neither to East nor West, neither to post-Tridentine theology, nor to the Middle Ages, nor to St. Augustine, nor

to the Greek Fathers, nor the Apostolic, but to each and all of these. There will be diversities in expression, and certain diversities of emphasis, but not such as to alter the unity of the doctrine; there will even be found local and temporal deviations on a large scale, obscurities, inadequate or mistaken explanations, hesitating gropings, but as long as these do not involve the supreme decisions of the Church—and they never do—the unity of her teaching and the depth of her life will in the end only be shown the more clearly. It would not be true to say that the development of her dogma has always been progressive. There have been periods of retrogression, eddies in the tide, but for the most part the teaching becomes more consistently articulate, the life more conscious of itself. And a Catholic, recognising from history that this is so, acknowledges the mystery of the abiding presence of God's Spirit in His Church, "for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God."

We are now to consider an instance of the continuity of the Church's doctrine, and we have to see, as well as we can in so brief a space, whether St. Augustine, whose expression of her sacramental teaching eventually passed into her official theology, is himself in the great line of her tradition, or whether, as the writer of the article<sup>1</sup> we have been considering maintained, "this (Augustinian) view goes straight against the tradition which alone occupies the field before Augustine, both in East and West, a tradition which might exactly be defined . . . by subordinating the objective value of the sacramental rites to the relation which minister and subject hold towards the Church." The word 'value' is ambiguous, but the assertion is emphatic. It must be observed that very little evidence was adduced to support it. With some of this we dealt last time. The rest will, if necessary, be considered in the notes of this article. Let us now turn to the facts.

St. Augustine had to defend the Catholic faith against the Donatists, whose schism—briefly—originated, or sought to justify its origin in denying that a bishop who—it was alleged—had betrayed the faith during persecution could afterwards confer valid episcopal orders. Their main tenet—they were not always consistent—was that the validity of a sacrament depended on the right faith and freedom from grave public sin of the minister. They appealed to the authority of St. Cyprian, who had denied the validity of heretical baptism on the ground that a sacrament could only exist within the true Church, and claiming to be that Church, they re-baptized those Catholics who came to them.

<sup>1</sup> *The Concept of a Sacrament in Non-Augustinian Theology*, by the Hieromonk Alexis van der Mensbrugge (in *The Christian East*, Sept.-Dec., 1935).



The first thing to be noticed is that St. Augustine was universally recognised by Catholics, in Africa and out of it, as the champion of the traditional faith. "Securus judicat orbis terrarum."

The second is that he was himself conscious that he had the weight of Catholic tradition behind him. We spoke before about this, and shall return to it.

But was he right in his interpretation of that tradition, or was his doctrine a clever expedient to help him out of a difficulty? What was the tradition?

It is obvious that in early times the sacraments would normally be given within the communion of the Church by her duly accredited ministers. Christian language would reflect this state of things and there would be no problem. But a problem would arise when and if there existed organised bodies, separated from the Church, but administering the sacraments with the Catholic rite. What was to be thought of such Sacraments? Baptism would be concerned in the first place, but if these bodies possessed bishops and priests with succession of orders from Catholics, other sacraments would be involved. The problem appeared with the rise of Marcionism and Montanism, and took a practical form. What was required to reconcile those who returned to the faith? Was their baptism to be repeated?

Now antiquity would have had no use for a "branch theory." It had the full perception of the visible unity of Christ's Church. There was only one Church, and could only be one, which, as St. Augustine says, possesses all her Lord's power. Those outside her one communion were separated from the Body of Christ. Only those who were in her communion had the grace of the Holy Spirit,<sup>1</sup> and drew it from her Sacraments. Besides, the Holy Spirit dwelt only in the Spouse of Christ. How then, some argued, could a heretical or schismatic minister give the Spirit whom he did not himself possess? Besides, St. Paul had said that there was only one baptism. How then could there be a Catholic baptism and a heretical baptism? It is clear that this conclusion was a strong one. It passed from Tertullian to St. Cyprian, and St. Cyprian, the Doctor of unity, was convinced that reason was on its side. The practical result was the conferring of Catholic baptism on those who had been baptized in heresy or schism. We know that this was done in Syria, Asia Minor and Africa.

So the premiss of this theory, that there can only be one Church of Christ, was admitted by everyone. But against

<sup>1</sup> Antiquity, for the most part, did not much consider the question of "good faith."

the complete force of the conclusion stood that great witness to Catholic doctrine, traditional and particularly Roman practice. Two facts must be brought out. The first is universal :

(1) *Everyone agreed that Catholic baptism (and we shall find the same true for Confirmation and Orders) once duly given could not be repeated.* The "re-baptizers," with St. Cyprian, repudiated the charge that they re-baptized those whom they reconciled to the Church and said they baptized them for the first time.

"Nos autem dicimus eos qui inde (ab haeresi) veniunt non rebaptizari apud nos sed baptizari" (Ep. Cypr. LXXI, 1).

On this first essential, universally admitted principle, that there must be no repetition of these sacraments once validly given, St. Augustine was to base his doctrine.

(2) But further we find a tradition, which in the event is the prevailing one, admitting the validity of heretical baptism (if duly conferred). For we know that at Rome, and also in the great Eastern Churches of Alexandria and Caesarea, those who came from heresy or schism were not re-baptized. The importance of this is unmistakable. Christians, since they believe that baptism is necessary for salvation, are not likely to take chances about it. These great churches must have been quite sure what they were doing, and though the principle might as yet be unformulated, the practice involved the recognition of the objective validity of the sacraments.

This tradition clashed with the re-baptizers in the famous dispute between Pope St. Stephen and St. Cyprian. The latter reports St. Stephen's words :

"Si qui ergo a quacumque haeresi venient ad vos, NIHIL INNOVETUR NISI QUOD TRADITUM EST, ut manus illi imponatur in paenitentiam" (Ep. LXXIV, 1).

Here it is sufficient to say that in spite of St. Cyprian's theories the Roman tradition came to prevail, but that the change, so far as we can trace it, was gradual and in the East incomplete. A number of churches still practised re-baptism in the fourth and even the fifth centuries, and this led to variations in theory. Sometimes we find one class of heretics having their baptism repeated while another have not, sometimes, as in the earlier writings of St. Athanasius, it is the special nature of the heresy which is the motive for re-baptism, sometimes it may be that the Trinitarian formula had not been preserved, sometimes repetition seems to have been a 'reprisal' because the heretics were re-baptizing Catholics. We cannot go into all these instances, which are intricate enough. It is however



clear that they were due to many other considerations besides the strictly theological idea "extra ecclesiam nullum sacramentum." On the other side we have found that heretical baptism was recognised both by Rome and by many of the great churches in East and West.

Much the same may be said for orders. Those duly conferred in the Catholic Church were never to be repeated, and we find in the so-called "Canons of the Apostles"<sup>1</sup> (*Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, edit. Funk, Paderborn, 1905, p. 585) Canon 68, laying down that those concerned in the repetition were to be deposed. As to ordination in heresy, the ancient ecclesiastical discipline made those who had been reconciled live as laymen, and so the problem as to whether they needed to be ordained again would not at first arise. (We must be careful to distinguish the forbidding of the exercise of orders from the denial of their existence in the subject.) But a time came when the Church found she could make good use of men of otherwise respectable character who returned to her, and we find witnesses to the practice of their being admitted to the exercise of their orders, which means that the ordinations conferred in heresy (assuming of course that they were properly conferred) were accepted as valid. On the other hand, as this same "Canon" testifies, there were practices of not admitting such orders—in fact their long history forms the subject of Abbé Saltet's book!

Confirmation, in ancient times, was given immediately after baptism, of which it was rightly considered the perfecting; and thus its separate theology was late in developing. Catholic confirmation was not repeated. The case of heretical confirmation is not an easy one. Was it repeated, e.g. at Rome, by the *manus impositio in paenitentiam* of which St. Stephen spoke, and which St. Cyprian and others called a conferring of the Holy Spirit? A monumental discussion, with a vast array of texts, critically examined, will be found in the *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* in the article "*Imposition des mains*," coll. 1302—1425, esp. 1397—1408. Here we can only sum-

<sup>1</sup> These Canons were adopted by the Council "In Trullo" which was considered ecumenical in the East but not in the West. But all good Eastern Orthodox scholars now agree that they are not Apostolic. The question of their origin is very complicated; many of them emanate from particular councils of the fourth century. Some may be earlier, but we do not know anything to justify the writer's assertion that SS. Stephen and Cyprian knew them. (p. 104).

marise some of Père Galtier's conclusions, which of themselves resolve several difficulties.<sup>1</sup> He considers that the rite of confirmation in the West was for long the imposition of hands, while in the East it was unction. But the imposition of hands was also used in penance. Confusion has been caused in the interpretation of the rites by the neglect to recognise certain facts, of which three concern our immediate

<sup>1</sup> The expressions in the sources about the Holy Spirit being conferred upon heretics who could not receive Him in heresy, are very strong, and it is not surprising that many distinguished Catholic writers have supposed that the rite was, at least materially, confirmation. We may take the opportunity to clarify the view which we think correct. St. Stephen accepted the heretical baptism (with which for contemporary ideas confirmation would be included), and imposed hands "in paenitentiam," which was to give the Holy Spirit for the remission of sins, i.e. the sacrament of penance. St. Cyprian argued: either the Holy Spirit is given in baptism to remit sins, or not. If He is given, why impose hands, if not, why not re-baptize? The answer lay in the "character" conferred by baptism even under conditions when sins are not remitted; but this answer, although implicit in the non-repetition, was not made by St. Stephen, and St. Cyprian's dilemma had as yet no reply but tradition's.

The article under consideration takes no account of the more modern work on the question, and makes some overstatements in setting out to prove that "in reality Stephen's view has nothing to do with the Augustinian theory of the efficacy of the sacraments outside the Church," claiming that "it is St. Cyprian and St. Stephen . . . who act on the same principle: *Extra Ecclesiam nullum sacramentum*." (It may be noted that for St. Augustine all sacraments belong to the Church; and also that we know very little about St. Stephen—only his decision, and that reported by hostile witnesses). "St. Cyprian and St. Augustine . . . both bitterly criticize Pope Stephen . . . on contradictory grounds, and this should be a hint that Stephen's view was really different from both others. St. Augustine and St. Jerome after him (Contr. Luciferianos, Migne, P.L. 23, col. 161), ask why Stephen admits the schismatical baptism and does not admit the schismatic confirmation as well" (p. 104). We remark that no reference is given to St. Augustine, and we have never found in him anything but great respect for St. Stephen, whom he followed. Perhaps the writer is thinking of Saltet's theory that St. Augustine reduced the imposition of hands to a simple ceremony of reconciliation. We show reasons in the text for rejecting this theory, but the fact would not be a "bitter" criticism. St. Augustine was much too respectful to the Apostolic See. So was St. Jerome. The reference to him is probably taken from the same page of Saltet, who is careful to remark that one must remember that this dialogue is a series of arguments *ad hominem*, and that St. Jerome does not make his own all the ideas he expounds. The passage in question is directed against the Luciferian and his argument, and does not mention St. Stephen. It would seem however that there is a more certain criticism of the "*manus impositio*," col. 188, where the dialogue form has been left, and, as we have said, the argument against it was an awkward one to answer as yet. "*Ce n'était là qu'une idée de polémiste*" is Saltet's comment. We show above that confirmation was not in the question.

Since atmospheres are important, it may be as well to give St. Jerome's account of the issue of St. Cyprian's affair with the successor of St. Peter: "Ad Stephanum tunc Romanae urbis episcopum, qui a beato Petro vicesimus secundus fuit, super hac re (re-baptizing of heretics) Africanam synodum direxit, sed conatus ejus frustra fuit. Denique illi ipsi episcopi qui rebaptizandos haereticos statuerant, ad antiquam consuetudinem revoluti, novum emisere decretum." (ib. 186).



question : (1) The rôle of the Holy Spirit at various moments of justification; (2) the attribution to Him of the efficacy of all rites, and especially (3) the part universally attributed to Him in the remission of sins. So the rite of reconciliation of heretics at Rome "*per manus impositionem in paenitentiam*" was penance, as appears from parallel cases, but when St. Cyprian argued that it was a rite to give the Holy Spirit, his interpretation also was correct, for it is the Holy Spirit who effaces sin.<sup>1</sup> But it was not confirmation, although a replica of the confirmation rite. It took the place for reconciled heretics (who were treated with leniency), of the full penitential discipline, from which it was distinguished as a lighter form (Cf. S. Leo, Inq. XIX, M.L. LIV 1209). St. Augustine has the other sources with him when he says : "*Manus autem impositio, si non adhiberetur ab haeresi venienti, tanquam extra omnem culpam esse judicaretur.*" (De bapt. V. 22, 33, M.L. XLIII, col. 193 ; cf. St. Innocent I, M.L. XX, 551, who shows that penance was in question, as do the author of De rebaptismate, and St. Cyprian himself, Ep. LXXIII, 6, LXXIV, 5, LXXV, 8 and others quoted by Père Galtier).

Père Galtier's conclusions are convincing, to our mind, for this western rite. It was penance, not confirmation. But we should add that Père Jugie (*Theologia Dogmatica Christianorum Orientalium*, III, p. 171, n. 3) would not accept this for the use of the Byzantine Church in reconciling "first class" heretics. The modern Eastern Orthodox Churches have used re-confirmation widely in the reconciliation of heretics but not universally ; the fact is even denied by some of their modern theologians (*ibid.* p. 150, etc.).

To sum up : (1) The ancient Church knew that the Church of Christ is one, and possesses all her Lord's power. The grace of the Holy Spirit cannot be conferred outside her communion. With this, of course, St. Augustine was in full agreement.<sup>2</sup>

(2) She never repeated the three sacraments of baptism, confirmation and order, if they were conferred within the Church.

(3) The ancient tradition affirmed by Rome, and followed in other great Churches, a tradition which tended to prevail

<sup>1</sup> An excellent parallel is provided by the description of the reconciliation of a penitent in the *Didascalia Apostolorum*, which is a more or less contemporary document : " For the imposition of hands shall be to him in the place of baptism : for whether by the imposition of hand, or by baptism, they receive the communication of the Holy Spirit " (ii, 41 ed., Dom Hugh Connolly, p. 104).

<sup>2</sup> He was one of those who allowed for " good faith " outside the Church. but this does not alter the principle.

in both East and West, accepted the validity of these sacraments when conferred in heresy.

These are *elements of tradition* and they were St. Augustine's data, his Catholic heritage. Were they simply in confusion, and had he to invent a theory of his own to extricate himself? Or was there already another element *in the tradition*, which explained them? There was already such a tradition in both East and West, but especially developed in the Greek Fathers.

The use of the verb σφραγίζειν (to seal) and of the noun *sphragis* to express certain operations of God in the soul, is of Apostolic origin.<sup>1</sup> For example: "Now he that confirmeth us with you in Christ and that hath anointed us, is God, who also hath sealed us (ὁ καὶ σφραγισάμενος ἡμᾶς) and given the pledge of the Spirit in our hearts" (II Cor. I, 22). A seal was stamped on property to mark it for and consign it to its owner—branded on a slave or a sheep for instance. The baptismal formula, "I baptize thee into (εἰς) the name of the Father . . ." pointed to a consignation to the Holy Trinity, and everything leads to the belief that this symbol of the seal is used in certain texts by St. Paul to express the action of the Holy Spirit in baptism and confirmation as a definitive consignation of the soul to God. For example, "Grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, whereby you are *sealed* unto the day of redemption" (Eph. IV, 30, cf. I, 13—14 and Col. II, 11, where baptism is described as "the circumcision of Christ," an analogy which certainly implies an indelible mark).

However, we shall not argue expressly from these texts, but from the doctrine of the Fathers—especially the Greek Fathers—which inhered in them. With the Apostolic Fathers *Sphragis* is a general term for baptism and its effects (the Latin word in Tertullian was '*signaculum*'). But as yet distinctions were not drawn between the effects of baptism, and while the literature of the 'seal' contains the latent doctrine of character (e.g. by the very nature of a seal), there are also to be found exhortations to the Christians not to break the seal by sin.

But when we come to the Greek Fathers of the fourth century we find the doctrine of the *Sphragis* far developed, and pregnant with "Augustinian theology." St. Cyril of Jerusalem is the chief representative, but he may be supplemented by St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Gregory of Nyssa, and St. John Chrysostom.

St. Cyril describes baptism as being: "Redemption of captives, remission of sins, death of sin, rebirth of the soul, shining garment, *holy unbreakable seal*. . ." (σφραγὶς ἁγία ἀκατάλυτος, Procat. n. 16). "May He give you the seal of the Holy Spirit, that is indelible for eternity" (σφραγίδα ἀνεξάλειπτον

<sup>1</sup> We are here much indebted to P. Pourrat, *La Théologie Sacramentaire*.



εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ib. 17). This seal is spiritual, salutary, altogether marvellous (Cat. I, 3). It is, says St. Basil, "unassailable" (ἀνεπιχείρητος, In S. Bapt. 5). It is compared with indelible marks, the stamp of the emperor's head on a coin, circumcision (St. John Chrys., In Eph. I, M.G. 61, 1 (not of the flesh, but of sons of the spirit), with the mark on soldiers which shows to the angels the soldiers of Christ whom they must succour in the combat (St. Basil, ib. 4) and which, if they desert, manifests their shame to all (St. John Chrys., In II Cor. III, 7).

The doctrine on baptism was so much bound up with that on confirmation (for the Fathers in their teaching on the *Sphragis* have in view the baptised-and-confirmed Christian) that it is sometimes impossible to distinguish between them. Yet well-marked distinctions are made in fourth century literature, confirmation also being called *Sphragis* (e.g. St. Cyril, Cat. Mys. IV, 7; Cat. XVIII, 33; St. Greg. Naz., Or. XL, 15, etc.). Perhaps St. Ambrose, whose theology largely derived from the Greeks (and passed on to St. Augustine) may sum up for confirmation, and give some idea of the riches of this *Sphragis* doctrine, which unfortunately we cannot develop further here. Just as we die and are born again in Christ by baptism, so we are Signed by the Spirit, that we may keep his splendour, his image and his grace, by a spiritual seal on our hearts, which imprints in us the effigy of the divine likeness :

"Signati ergo Spiritu a Deo sumus. Sicut enim in Christo morimur et renascimur; ita etiam Spiritu signamur, ut splendorem, atque imaginem ejus et gratiam tenere possimus: quod est utique spiritale signaculum. Nam etsi specie signamur in corpore, veritate tamen in corde signamur: ut Spiritus sanctus exprimat in nobis imaginis coelestis effigiem" (De Spiritu Sancto, I, 6, 79).

The word *Sphragis* was used for baptism and confirmation; there is less evidence for orders, but a celebrated passage from St. Gregory of Nyssa may be cited to show his idea of the effect of ordination. He compares it to the blessing of the baptismal water, to the consecration of an altar, which makes it holy and inviolable, to the consecration of the Eucharist itself. These consecrations modify their object and set it apart as sacred. Ordination does something analogous, changing the soul of the priest with invisible power and grace, setting him apart to do wonderful things (In Bapt. Christi, M.G. XLVI, 581. Compare St. Cyril of Alexandria, in Joann. XX, 22 and 23, M.G. LXXIV, 712; St. John Chrys., In II Tim. I, LXII, 603).

We do not wish to imply that an absolutely clear distinction

can as yet be made in the *Sphragis*—doctrine between the ‘Seal’ and grace. It might seem that all the materials are there for such a distinction, and this is true. Yet St. Cyril can still warn the catechumens (Cat. I, 3) that the seal will only be given to souls sincerely converted. But we see nevertheless that GIVEN THE FACTS THAT GRACE COULD BE LOST, BUT THAT BAPTISM WAS NEVER REPEATED; FURTHER, THAT BAPTISM AND CONFIRMATION AND ORDERS GIVEN EVEN IN HERESY WERE NOT REPEATED, ALTHOUGH IT WAS GENERALLY HELD THAT GRACE COULD NOT BE GIVEN IN HERESY, THE SPHRAGIS DOCTRINE PROVIDED A TRADITIONAL, THOUGH NOT FULLY ARTICULATE DISTINCTION BETWEEN SEAL AND GRACE WHICH EXPLAINED THE TRADITIONAL DATA. Only the occasion and the man were needed.

This is shown further by two circumstances: St. Augustine is at once recognised as the interpreter of Catholic tradition, while the Donatists, with their insistence on the faith of the minister, appear as contrary to that tradition; AND ST. AUGUSTINE USES THE TRADITIONAL LANGUAGE TO EXPRESS THE DOCTRINE OF THE INEFFACEABLE MARK OR CHARACTER CONFERRED ON THE SOUL BY THESE THREE SACRAMENTS. Tradition said they were not to be repeated, and that they were a consecration. Here is St. Augustine:

“Utrumque (Baptism and Order) enim Sacramentum est; et QUADAM CONSECRATIONE utrumque homini datur; illud, cum baptizatur; istud, cum ordinatur; IDEOQUE IN CATHOLICA UTRUMQUE NON LICET ITERARI” (Contra Ep. Parm., II, c. 13, n. 29, M.L. XLIII, 70).

Of course!

He then takes up exactly the traditional descriptions of the *Sphragis*, the royal stamp on the coin, the mark on the soldier (which is not the mark of the heretical minister, but that of Christ, *Ad pleb. Caes.* 2), and so, drawing out the doctrine of the Seal, and once more combining it with the doctrine of non-repetition:

Do the Christian sacraments inhere (in the soul) less than this mark on the body, since we see that even apostates are not without baptism? For it is undoubtedly not given back to them, since they return through penance, and therefore it is judged that it cannot be lost (Contra Ep. Parm., *ib.*, 72).

This article has only served to bring us to the threshold of St. Augustine’s thought. We cannot pass that threshold now. Only one word more. Why cannot the right to give the sacraments, the right of order, be lost? It is because the minister is *consecrated* the mandatory of Christ (and there.



fore of the Church). So much is this so, that his action is Christ's action. This may be shown from what St. Augustine implies when he speaks of baptism. It is Christ who 'washes His Church in the word of life' (Eph. V, 25—7); it is He who baptizes through His disciples (In Joann. V, 15); they by their ministry, He by His power, for it is *His* power, not their own, which they administer. The subordination of the minister to Christ (and so also to the Church) is implicit in the doctrine of character.<sup>1</sup>

To prove this doctrine, and further to develop the riches of St. Augustine's thought, would need another article. But it should be noted that the aim of these few pages has not been to prove the Catholic doctrine of character—a doctrine which is shared with us by many of our separated Eastern brethren. We have indeed shown incidentally how traditional is the doctrine of the Council of Trent when it says that by these three sacraments "there is imprinted a character in the soul, that is a certain spiritual and indelible sign, wherefore they cannot be repeated" (Sess. VII, Canon 9). But had we set out to prove the doctrine, we should have added much more. Our scope has been restricted. It has been to consider the facts of tradition, and to see whether St. Augustine is faithful in expounding them.

DOM RALPH RUSSELL.

## MEETINGS BETWEEN CATHOLICS AND ORTHODOX : SOME POSSIBILITIES

SINCE 1923, Christian students from East and West have been meeting together, about the month of May, in a kind of retreat lasting two days. The idea inspiring this gathering is as follows: to get to know one another; to show to Christians of the East who are exiled from their own lands and subjected to very trying conditions of life, a brotherly interest which arises as much from high regard as from charity; and lastly, to meet together on spiritual grounds as distinct from the intercourse of everyday life and professional work which is confined to secular and temporal purposes. Obviously there is no question here of a "colloquy" after the manner of the XVIth century when religious parties confronted each other and when official and

<sup>1</sup> As to confirmation, we may just mention De Bapt. III, 16, where St. Augustine speaks of the many operations of the Holy Spirit—confirmation, the spirit of prophecy which may exist even in bad men, and that charity which covers a multitude of sins.

public theological debates ended in formal conclusions. These meetings are strictly friendly and private. During recent years, indeed, this friendly gathering has been bringing together quite thirty members, including a small number of Catholics, a third Russian Orthodox and rather more than a third Protestants, especially students. A member of each group has been speaking on a subject chosen by common agreement, on which there has been a free discussion. For the last two years, the meetings have discussed the following subjects: in 1935, at Chaintréauville (S. and M.), the Cross; in 1936 (at "l'Oiseau bleu," in S. and O.), the Bible. It is proposed to dwell upon the advantage and interest arising out of these two meetings, especially from the point of view of the relations between Catholics and Orthodox.

Two points seem most worthy of consideration and it is to them that we shall confine ourselves here.

1. It is important and even necessary, in view of reunion, to have contact with one another. Indeed, one of the causes of our disunion and the strongest one, is that the separation has persisted over a long period and that this persistence has in itself become an established fact and a new cause of opposition between us. We all know that when we have quarrelled we are tempted to think that our most dignified course is not to make the first advance, to maintain our offended dignity and to show by our aloofness that we consider that we have been offended against. Thus, a passing quarrel that could easily have been made up at the outset, gathers strength. We take offence over an unimportant matter, but because we do not speak afterwards, because we hold aloof for a long while, these facts alone of mutual silence and coldness become in themselves the actual cause of a state of antagonism which can lead to the very death of friendship. Something similar has happened in connection with our religious differences. To the first causes of disunion has been added the momentum of time and the very fact that for centuries we have held no communication. Hence mutual reproaches have come into being; mutual misunderstandings have accumulated without there being an opportunity to dispel them; a huge crust of prejudice has gradually formed and hardened. In short, the fact alone that the separation has lasted and that we have held no inter-communication has become one of the most potent causes of a state of things that now appears well-nigh irremediable.

Thus we may see the interest which attends the meetings between Catholics and Orthodox, in renewing an intercourse interrupted for far too long, in having mutual explanations, in seeing each other as we really are (and not in that kind of caricature which we take for the reality); more especially as the real difficulty that the Orthodox experience in relation



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to the Catholic Church is not so much a doctrinal difficulty as the impossibility of understanding the *Christian* value of our standing. By a strange lack of comprehension, they do not see that our idea of the Church, of infallibility and of the authority in the Church has for us and amongst us an essential meaning and a truly spiritual reality. All this seems to them sheer "secularism" and "worldliness." The real problem for them then is a *psychological* one, and it is by no means sufficient to give them bookish explanations. After all, they do not lack such explanations and, if it were only a question of giving them instruction on Catholic doctrine, a bibliography would suffice. But, as their real difficulty is psychological, of the nature of spiritual "mentality" or "sensibility," it is especially necessary to show them *by facts*, in a living manner, by contact and through experience, *that Catholics are possible as Christians* and that Catholic standpoints have religious meaning and are indeed tenable in the *vital and Christian spiritual order*. Now that can only come to pass by personal contact and through the personal business of life. Experience shows us, too, how really efficacious such contacts are in putting into practice this work of explanation, and how a few hours spent in meeting one another and in discussion do more to reveal the true nature of Catholicism than the reading of many books. We give proof of movement by walking; similarly it is proved that the primacy of Rome is not sheer "secularism" by showing it forth in a living way.

It was certainly this consciousness of the necessity of seeking frank explanation, and that nothing would serve for that but personal contact, that moved Pope Pius XI to say, in a consistorial address, that it was expedient to have exchange of thought ("disceptationes") between the Orthodox and ourselves. (Acta Apost. Sedis, 1924, p. 491).

2. Meetings with the Orthodox, especially in face of Protestantism, have made us aware of our undoubted fundamental unity. This is an important point, worthy of note. When we meet with Protestants and Orthodox, and each explains the faith of his Church on a precise point, the Orthodox and the Catholics are, at bottom, in agreement, and beyond questions of secondary importance on which the Orthodox show some sympathy with the Protestant points of view, it is at once plain that, in face of Protestantism, they and we present a single front in tradition and inspiration. That has been proved very clearly at Chaintréauville and at "l'Oiseau bleu." When we were discussing the veneration given to the Cross (Chaintréauville) or the place of the Bible in the liturgy ("l'Oiseau bleu"), Catholics and Orthodox were in fundamental agreement. Thus, at "l'Oiseau bleu," M.

Zander expounded the following point of view on the subject of the Bible in the liturgy: the liturgy not only repeats the Bible by containing a large number of sacred passages, but it includes the actual reality of great biblical acts. In the liturgy there is not only a "word" on the facts of salvation, but the act itself and the actual gift of God, the real presence of Christ and of the Cross, the reality of salvation and of the New Covenant. In short, the whole of sacramental theology, the basis of a theology of the liturgy, was involved in this account, with a shade of difference of which the theory of the "Mysteriengegenwart" of Dom Cassel would give a good enough idea in contemporary Catholic theology. Obviously, such a point of view, such sacramental realism could only be basically foreign to Protestantism. For to Protestants, and that is one of the things on which we are most divergent, Christ is always rather a "message" proclaimed than a life truly given and an act verily accomplished.

On yet another occasion, after an exposition of dialectic theology made by a Protestant, we heard a criticism of this same theology made by M. N. Berdiaev. Now Berdiaev answered Barth with the same criticism that a Catholic theologian would have made (the devitalisation of the doctrines of Salvation and of the Incarnation due to realism). On such a central and important matter as dialectic theology, such agreement is too material for us not to attach the highest value to it. Similar cases make us aware that between Orthodox and Catholics there is a real community of doctrine and of spirit on the most poignant and important questions of Christianity; a fact the more notable that when Orthodox face Protestants alone they are not at all conscious of this deep-seated agreement. Thus, when Father Boulgakov was explaining to Protestants the cult of the Blessed Virgin in Orthodoxy, he added that this veneration was quite different from that which Catholics accord to Mary, for, he said, Catholics *worship* the Blessed Virgin. . . . It is very clear that Father Boulgakov would not have said that at a meeting with Catholics present, and that even on that occasion he would definitely have understood, and still better *perceived*, that Catholics and Orthodox indeed honour in the same way her who, conceived "before the world," is also the Mother of us all from before our separation, and as an arc of peace, reigns over us all beyond our divergence.

Such is the palpable benefit that may be looked for from meetings between Catholics and Orthodox, as experience has shown in the course of the two friendly gatherings which have formed the subject of this little article: in putting a stop to this potent cause of separation which is that for nine centuries we have held no inter-communication; in showing that



Catholics and Catholic claims are *possible* from a spiritual point of view and that far from being sheer "secularism," they have definite *Christian value*; finally, in becoming aware of our deep-seated community of doctrine and of spirit, above all in face of the outcome of the Reformation from which we are divided in the same way and for the same causes.

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## THE SYRIAN LITURGY

### VI.—THE DIVINE OFFICE.

43. The Divine Office consists of seven hours :—Vespers (Prayer of the Evening or of the Dusk); Compline (Suttoro, "Protection," so called from the psalm "Qui habitat in adiutorio"); Nocturns (Prayer of the Night); Mattins (Prayer of the Morning); Terce, Sext and None, called respectively the Prayer of the Third, Sixth, and Ninth Hour. Sext also is the Prayer of Midday.

The following account is taken from the Syr. Penqitho, the Breviary containing the Office of Sundays, feasts, Lent, and the Common of Saints, printed at Mosul, 1886—1896, and the Sh'himo containing the "Prayers of ordinary (sh'hime) days," printed at Sharfeh in 1902. The Sh'himo is also called Beth gazzo, "treasury."

As already stated the choir is divided into two divisions, "of the beginning" and "of the end." Each has its president ('alono, rish-guddo). The priest faces the people, standing behind the lectern.

44. *Tunes and Modes.* The various anthems, etc., are rubricated with the first words of some typical hymn (rish-qoleh). This denotes the tune (qolo, qinto) on which the piece is to be sung. Each rish-qoleh has eight modes (qinto), each with a title. The series of the modes begins on the Sunday at the commencement of the ecclesiastical year; each week follows the mode of the preceding Sunday. Feasts, etc. have their own. The mode is also styled ikhos (ἵχος); it is so called in connection with the "Greek Canon" (see under Mattins).

45. The *psalter* is divided into 15 marm'yotho (sing. marmitho, "missile"), and each of these into four shubbohe ("doxologies"), perhaps so called from the "Gloria Patri" at the end. Anciently a marmitho was said before each Nocturn. But the recitation of the psalter has now been reduced to a minimum. Such psalms as are recited are (a) variable, (b) fixed. The Penqitho has a variable psalm at the beginning of Vespers and two or in Lent one in each Nocturn. In this it follows the usage of the "East," the

old jurisdiction of the maphrian. In the "West" under the immediate rule of the patriarch these psalms disappeared; they do not occur here in the Maronite Office.

At the end of every psalm (mazmuro) not followed by another is said "Gloria Patri," and then the 'eqbo, kurokho, or verse of the canon (*v. infra*).

46. The psalms are said in three ways:—

1. "Simply" (p' shitoith), *i.e.* without farcings or tune.
2. "On the canon," the psalm itself being recited without tune. The canon (qonuno, *κάνων*) is the farcing of the psalm or of a number of psalms considered as a whole, a section (baito, "house") being inserted after a section of the psalm. This mode of reciting the psalter may easily be understood by supposing the antiphon of a psalm in the Roman Breviary to be said after every few verses, but the canon is a long composition divided into sections and not a repetition of one antiphon. It is also called 'enyono ("responsory," "chant"). A psalm on the canon or 'enyono is also said in another way, the whole psalm being said "simply" and then the sections of the canon one by one with the "Gloria Patri" inserted before the last. Canons are of two kinds: (*a*) Greek, translations of the works of the Greek doctors and not in the Syrian metre, (*b*) Eastern or Syrian, the composition of Syrian doctors.<sup>1</sup> They are distinguished by the position of the "Gloria." If the work is Syrian, the "Glory be to the Father" is before the penultimate and "From everlasting" before the last section; if Greek, the two parts of the doxology are said together before the last section. It will be seen that the canon or 'enyono is very similar to the qolo, and this last is the generic name for this style of composition among the Maronites. Hereafter it will be referred to as "farcing."

3. "On the kykليون" (quqliyon, *κύκλιον*). The psalm is sung, not recited, with "Halleluia" or "Halleluia" and "Halleluia" in the middle of every verse. The same arrangement appears in the Syriac psalter. It is of the essence of the kykليون.

47. There remain certain technical terms which may conveniently be dealt with here.

1. *Bo'utho*, "supplication." A metrical composition, normally consisting of four sections (baito, "house"), of which the last is a doxology, of three kinds: (*a*) Ephraimitic of seven syllables; (*b*) Jacobitic, of 12, the metre favoured, by James of Serugh who died in 521; (*c*) "Merciful to sins" of five, used by Balai chorepiscopus of Aleppo at the end of the fourth century. Each bou'tho should have a proper

<sup>1</sup> British Museum Add. 14698 (XII—XIII cent.) for the Epiphany mentions "Canons of Melitene and Edessa."



‘unoyo or refrain (q.v.) or t’bhortho (“fragment”), one or two short verses at its beginning and end, v. ‘Unoyo. The bo‘utho frequently is used to end a movement. Its contents now sometimes have little or no connection with any idea of supplication. The following from Sunday Sext may be taken as an example; it is in the metre of Balai :—

By the prayer of thy Mother and of all thy saints :: pardon us, O our Lord, and rest our departed — The memorial of Mary be for our blessing and her prayer be a wall to our souls :: Holy prophets and apostles and martyrs, beseech and beg mercies for us all :: The dew of delights sprinkle, O my Lord, on the faces of our fathers and our brethren who have fallen asleep on thine hope :: Glory to him who hath magnified the memorial of his Mother, and may he make the saints resplendent and rest the departed — By the prayer of thy Mother and of all thy saints :: pardon us, O our Lord, and rest our departed.

The refrain “By the prayer” is an ‘unoyo proper to this metre.

2. *Kurokho*, “circuit.” A short anthem chanted on a typical tune, usually written before it, after “Glory be. From everlasting” of psalms sung on the *kyklion* (v. section 46). There is usually a pair; if one, it is repeated. The ‘eqbo, *madhroscho* or *kathisma* sometimes replaces it. The following of our Lady is given as a specimen :—

*On the tune* “Light which from light.” O holy Virgin Mother of God, Mary, pray thine only Son to make his tranquillity to dwell in his creation : Watchers<sup>1</sup> and angels, lo ! they rejoice on the day of the memorial of the Virgin Mary who bore the Son of God.

3. *Madhroscho*, “disputation.” A hymn, perhaps originally didactic, divided into sections. It often is very long and the initial letters of the sections may form an acrostic of the alphabet. The theme (‘unoyo, “refrain”) is usually written at the beginning. A *madhroscho* of one section without the refrain sometimes takes the place of the *kurokho* or ‘eqbo after the *kyklion*.

A very short *madhroscho* from the first Nocturn of one Apostle is :—

Of mar Ephraim. *On the tune* “This is the month.” ‘Unoyo. Blessed is Christ who chose his apostles and exalted them.

Fire did Christ cast upon the earth ; mortals of flesh it made fire and spirit, and its fire spread through their limbs and gave not quiet and rest in their minds. :: They spread the nets of their doctrines and caught the earth which was disturbed

<sup>1</sup> A synonym of angels.

by heathendom ; Thomas from the rising of the sun and Simon in the isles of the sea gathered the catch. :: Saul, the first to be caught, entered the net on the way (to Damascus) and he taught and baptized the whole creation, who was the preacher of the faith, who took a new catch and brought it to Christ the King.

4. *Stichon* (stikhon, estikhon). A short anthem which is the same as the *kathisma* (v. section 19).

5. *Soghitho*, "dialogue." A hymn very similar to the *madhroshe*. It is preceded also by an 'unoyo. One for the Epiphany is :—

*On the tune* "Rejoice, ye peoples." 'Unoyo. Blessed is thine appearance, O God, Saviour of all, who hast hallowed us by thy divine baptism.

On this night the Holy Spirit hovered like a dove and the fountains of the waters were made hot. :: On this night, on this night Jordan overflowed, the fountains and the meres gave glory. :: On this night the bride desired to see the bridegroom of truth, who came and espoused her. :: On this night let the son of Jesse sing in his tomb at the wedding feast of his Lord's Son who came and enlightened him. :: On this day, on this day the swallows sing with their sweet twitterings that Christ, behold, hath appeared. :: On this night come, let us give thanks, ye peoples who have been saved, to the Lamb of God who came and saved us.

In the above the divisions of the sections ("houses") is indicated by ::

6. *Takhshephtho*, "beseeching." A composition of a single section, usually in prose. It can be substituted at the end of Nocturns for the *bo'utho* ; also for the *kurokhos* and 'eqbos of the psalms at the will of the president. Those in the *Penqitho* are attributed to St. Rabbulas, bishop of Edessa, and are divided among the eight modes. See also under *Kathisma* (section 19). The following are specimens from the *Sh'himo* :—

*Of the departed.* The departed who put thee on in baptism, O Lord, do thou clothe their bodies with a robe of glory when thou comest, when with the blast of the trump and of the clarion thou art about to raise up and renew the whole race of men ; pardon, O my Lord, their offences and blot out their sins in the manifoldness of thy grace. Glory to the might of thy being, Lord of Lords, God who camest for the salvation of thy creation, and have mercy upon us.

This *takhshephtho* appears in the collection of *kathismas* in British Museum Add. 17252 (XIIIth—XIVth century). See under *Kathisma* in section 19.

*Of the Mother of God.* Peace to thee, who didst bear in the flesh God the Word most high, virgin Mother, maiden pure



and holy, Mary Mother of Christ, full of mercies and grace. Peace to thee, who wast a second heaven to the eternal Word of the Father. Peace to thee, who wast the small cloud (III Kings, xviii, 44) to the Creator of all creation. But, O holy one, we implore of thee, pray thine only Son, God above all, to grant tranquillity to the creation for the sake of the abundance of his mercifulness.

The pieces translated above have been chosen for their brevity. Many are long.

7. *Teshboho*, "canticle." Any canticle such as the "Canticle of mar Athanasius" or "of the angels," *i.e.* the Gloria in excelsis, or the Trisagion, also styled "of the angels" from the Jacobite tradition that it was sung by angels after the death of our Lord on the Cross, Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus adding: "Who wast crucified for us," to wit the insertion of Peter the Fuller. The Trisagion also is called quddosho, "hallowing"; the verb *inter alia* means "he said the Trisagion."

8. 'Unoyo, rarely 'onitho, "responsory, refrain." A short verse or verses written at the beginning of the bo'utho, madhroshe, soghitho, and some shubbohos. In the case of the bo'utho it is also known as t'bhortho. This last may consist of two verses, each of two lines of the appropriate metre. Of these both may be said before and after the bo'utho, or both before and one of them after, or the first before and the second after; or both before and a different couple after, the 'unoyo in this case being composed of four verses.

The name 'onitho is given in British Museum Add. 17207, fol. 15 ff. (VIIIth—IXth century) to the zummoros before the Old Testament lessons and the Apostle; here it is a definite responsory exactly like the first and second of a Roman Nocturn.<sup>1</sup> At the shubboho sung during the Communion the second half of the 'unoyo sometimes is repeated at the end of each stanza or section. It is possible that its presence elsewhere is a survival of the ancient responsory with its constant refrain.

48. In practice Vespers is said before sundown and is preceded by None and followed by Compline. Nocturns begin before sunrise and are followed by Mattins, Terce and Sext, said on end.

Each hour begins with the Trisagion said thrice, the Lord's Prayer, and "Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost" with the response "And upon us weak and sinful may mercies and grace be outpoured in both worlds for ever. Amen." This is known as shubboho, "doxology,"

<sup>1</sup> In Add. 14525 (IXth—Xth cent.), fol. 7, 'onitho = 'enyono.

and the verb "he glorified" is used for "he said the Glory be to the Father." Then follows the short "Prayer of the Beginning." At the end of the hour is the Trisagion, the Lord's Prayer, the "Prayer of the Ending," the Nicene Creed, and the huttomo or "seal." When the hours are recited on end as usual the Lord's Prayer, etc., are said only after Compline and Sext. They are, however, omitted if Mass follows the hour, as is also the Trisagion; the Anthem of the Qurobho thus follows the bo'utho of the hour. At festal Nocturns the "Glory be" and the "Prayer of the Beginning" are replaced by the "Canticle of the Beginning"; of this one form commences "Come, let us kneel and worship."

In the Office the hussoyo (v. section 19) is said by the priest standing bareheaded before the central door of the screen with hands outstretched. When the Office is ferial, at the "general" qolo "of incense" of Vespers and Mattins the deacon or in his absence a priest incenses the altar, the Gospel, the picture of our Lady, the bishop, priests, deacons, clergy, and people. When it is festal, the incensing takes place at the hussoyo of Vespers and Mattins and at the "general hussoyo" of Nocturns. In addition, the Gospel is incensed while it is being read.

Reverence is made at the Trisagion or at its substitute at Nocturns "Blessed is the honour," at "Come, let us kneel," etc., and at the litanies in Lent. It is of two kinds:—

(a) Profound inclination, "worshipping," used at Mass throughout the year, and in the Office on Sundays, feasts of the Lord and Paschal time.

(b) "Kneeling" on both knees with the head to the ground in the Office except on the days just mentioned. In many places (a) has taken its place.

"Kneeling" sometimes is styled metuniyo (μετάνοια).

#### VESPERS.

49. After the usual beginning on Sundays and feasts a psalm is said on the kyklion with its kurokho (taken from "Eastern" practice) or psalm 51, "Miserere," farced; on ferias psalm 51 is omitted. Next come the "Psalms of the Evening," namely psalms 140, "Domine clamavi," 141 "Voce mea," 118 (vv. 105—112) "Lucerna pedibus meis," and 116 "Laudate Dominum omnes gentes." If on a Sunday or feast, these are said farced and are preceded by a prayer; on ferias they are said "simply" with an 'eqbo at the end. Then follows the hussoyo (with its "Propitious therefore," v. section 19, on Sundays and feasts of the Lord) with the qolo (on Sundays and feasts called qubbolo, "acceptance" viz. of the incense, and on ferias "general qolo of the incense"); the "Prayer of the smoke" or "of incense"; and another



qolo (on Sundays and feasts known as the "qolo of the evening" with a section for the departed or in Lent of penitence," on ferias as the second "general qolo after the incense"). The festal Office then proceeds with a bo'utho, the Halleluiah with its hullolo as in the Mass, the Gospel, a litany (koruzutho, "proclamation," also an "Eastern" usage) and its prayer. The ferial Office after the second qolo has a qaumo, "station," or teshmeshto (v. section 21), the "bo'utho of the evening, or of the end," and a short canticle:—

*O our Lord Jesus Christ.* The gate of thy mercies shut not in our faces, O my Lord. We sinners confess; have mercy upon us :: Thy love brought thee down from thy dwelling place to us, O my Lord, that by thy death our death might be destroyed; and have mercy upon us.

The Trisagion and the customary ending complete the service.

## COMPLINE.

50. Compline never varies with the season except in Holy Week and so is found in the Sh'himo or ferial Breviary.

After the "Prayer of the Beginning" is psalm 4, "Cum invocarem" said "simply" with 'eqbo or farced in Lent, hussoyo, qolo of four sections, bo'utho "of penitence" or of "protection" or in lieu of it a takhshephtho, and "Kyrie eleison" thrice. Then two clerks sing psalm 91, "Qui habitat" and psalm 120, "Levavi oculos" on the kyklion, "Glory be to the Father" and "From everlasting" divided by three Halleluiahs, a canticle composed on the theme of "Qui habitat," and before the usual conclusion:—

Blessed is the honour of the Lord from his dwelling place for ever (thrice). Holy and glorious Trinity, have mercy on us (twice). Holy and glorious Trinity, be propitious and have mercy on us. Holy art thou and glorious art thou for ever (twice). Holy art thou and blessed is thy name for ever. Glory to thee, O our Lord (twice). Glory to thee, O our hope, for ever.

After Compline of Sunday, that is on Saturday night, except that of Palm Sunday, Easter, Pentecost, and other feasts of the Lord, the clergy go in procession to the beth qaddishe (v. section 8) and recite the "Service (teshmeshto) of the priests."

## NOCTURNS.

51. The "rouser psalm" (m'irono) consists of psalms 133 "Ecce nunc benedicite," 118 (vv. 169—176) "Appropinquet deprecatio mea," and 116, which are farced. These are preceded by the "Prayer of the Beginning" which on ferias has the alternative title of "Prayer of the rouser."

Then follow the Nocturns, styled in the Penqitho qaumo, "station," 'eddonno, "time," and in the Sh'himo teshmeshto, "service." Three is the usual number, but on Christmas, Epiphany, Monday and Friday of the Passion (*i.e.* of Holy Week), Ascension, and Holy Cross day there are four. In the Penqitho the first two, or three if there be four, consist of two psalms on the kyklion or one on the ferias of Lent with their kurokhos, 'eqbos or takhshephthos taken from "Eastern" practice; the hussoyo; one or more qolos; madhroschos or soghithos; a bo'utho if prescribed; and "Blessed is the honour"; "Holy Trinity" and the Lord's Prayer. In the ferial Office each Nocturn is preceded by a prayer. The first two consist of an 'eqbo or takhshephtho (apparently one following the lost marmitho of the psalter), hussoyo, qolo of four sections, bo'utho, and "Blessed is the honour," etc. as above.

The last Nocturn in the Penquitho is a "service" (teshmeshto) of the departed. That in the Sh'himo resembles the first and second Nocturn, but stops short before "Blessed is the honour"; the qolo is "of the night."

The festal Office thus proceeds:—"Halleluiah and halleluiah and halleluiah. Glory to thee, O God. Be propitious to us in thy mercies, O God." Magnificat and verses from psalm 132, "Ecce quam bonum," farced, then psalms 148, 149, 150, and 116, styled "Canticles of David" recited "simply," and "Glory to the Trinity (twice). We glorify the glorious Trinity, Being eternal, and thee befitteth glory, O God, at all times." The ferial Office after the "Halleluiah" has "In oblations and in prayers" (as in the Mass, section 36) a "general" hussoyo, and then Magnificat and the rest as above, but psalm 51 farced may be substituted for psalm 132. Neither Magnificat nor "Ecce quam bonum" is said in Lent.

The festal Office then has the "general teshmeshto." Instead of this the ferial Office has a teshmeshto of "one person," namely of the saint commemorated that day or if none of the saint of the church or St. Ephraim. Its bo'utho is "of the end," or "of the night"; that of the festal Office is "general" or of the day.

Both Offices conclude with the "Canticle of mar Athanasius" *i.e.* the Gloria in excelsis, "The gate of thy mercies," Trisagion and the rest as usual.

The Office for the ferias of Lent in the Penqitho substitute a "teshmeshto of penitence" for the "general teshmeshto" and after it a litany.

#### MATTINS.

52. The Office begins as usual and then has psalm 51, said "simply" on ferias and farced on Sundays and



feasts. In the ferial Office there follows psalm 63, "Deus Deus meus," farced. In lieu of this in the festal Office is (a) the "Greek Canon" (qonuno yaunoyo) or (b) the 'enyonos of "Sing ye."

(a) The "Greek Canon" is only said on great solemnities ; it seems to have been taken from the Byzantine Office. It consists of verses from the Old Testament Canticles, namely : (1) of Moses, Exod. xv, 1, (2) of Anna, 1 Kings, ii, 1, (3) of Habacuc, iii, 1, (4) of Isaias xxvi, 9, (5) of Jonas ii, 3, (6) of the Three Children " of the house of Ananias," Daniel iii, 26 ; and (7) of the same, Daniel iii, 57, 88. There are two verses from each Canticle, the first two except in the case of the last. Each verse is followed by a section of the canon, as is "Glory be. From everlasting," these two verses being said together. In the seventh Canticle a short composition analogous to the Latin "Benedicamus Patrem" takes the place of the doxology.

(b) The psalms of "Sing ye" are farced. They are psalm 63, "Deus Deus meus," psalm 19, "Caeli enarrant," and the Canticle of Isaias (xlii, 10—13 ; xlv, 8) "Cantate domino canticum novum." On Sundays, feasts of the Lord and in Lent a prayer precedes each.

The festal Office then has Magnificat farced.

Then follow the "psalms of the praise of the morning," also called "canticles, praises." In the ferial Office these are psalms 113 "Laudate pueri Dominum," 148, 149, 150 and 116 with the doxology at the end and 'eqbo ; in the festal with a prayer preceding and with farcing psalms 148, 149, 150, and 116, followed by the Beatitudes also with a prayer and farced.

Then comes the hussoyo with its accompaniments precisely as at Vespers. In the fes'al Office "Propitious therefore" is omitted if Mass follows, and in both Offices the qolo is "of the morning." The festal Office comes to an end with the Halleluia and its hullolo, the Gospel, and the usual conclusion. In lieu of this the ferial Office has a "station" as at Vespers, and after the bo'utho the "Canticle of the conclusion of the prayer of the morning," a composition beginning with certain verses from psalm 92, "Bonum est confiteri" and psalm 5, "Verba mea." The usual ending follows.

## TERCE, SEXT, AND NONE.

53. These hours are very short. They consist of the "Prayer of the Beginning," hussoyo, qolo, bo'utho, "Prayer of the End," and "seal." In Holy Week each has a psalm.

54. A varying number of lessons from the Old and New Testaments, of which the last always is the Gospel, occasionally is read in the Office. This is the case in the third Nocturn

of Christmas after the qolos, and at Vespers of the Supplication of Ninive and Midlent Wednesday. A rubric of the Penqitho prescribes lessons from the Old Testament at Vespers of the Lenten ferias, if they are not read at Mass. In Holy Week they are read at Vespers, Mattins, and Terce. On Monday the two Testaments are read at the first and second Nocturn, and on Good Friday at the first three Nocturns. The Gospel alone is read in the second Nocturn of Maundy Thursday and in the fourth of Good Friday, and at Sext and None throughout the week.

55. The following details illustrate the variety in the Syrian Office. Ferial Vespers and Mattins are "general," but the subject of the qaumo or "station" at their end and of the final bo'utho varies:—

Day.	"Station."	Bo'utho.
Monday, Tuesday, Thursday.	Penitence or of the morning.	General
Wednesday.	B.V.M.	do.
Friday, Vespers.	Martyrs.	do.
„ Mattins.	Cross.	Cross.
Saturday, Vespers.	Departed.	Departed.
„ Mattins.	Priests (departed).	Priests.

Compline, as already stated, always is "of penitence," except in Holy Week.

In ferial Nocturns the first teshmeshto is of our Lady, except on Fridays from Easter to the end of the ecclesiastical year when it is of the Cross. The second is of the saints, on Thursday particularly of the apostles. The third on Monday, Tuesday, and Thursday is "of penitence," on Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday of the departed. The final bo'utho on Monday and Tuesday is "of penitence," on Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday "general," on Thursday of apostles and evangelists.

Terce is the only little hour kept of the Sunday or festival. On ferias it is "of penitence" on Monday, Tuesday, and Thursday; of our Lady on Wednesday; of the Cross on Friday; and of departed priests on Saturday. Except in Lent and Holy Week Sext nearly always is "general" and None of the departed.

#### OCCURRENCE OF FEASTS AND COMMEMORATIONS.

56. The Penqitho speaks of feasts as being of Class I and of the two grades of Commemorations as Classes II and III. Feasts alone have the full Office, viz., Vespers, Nocturns, Mattins, and Terce. Of the Commemorations Class II has a teshmeshto in lieu of the final qaumo or "station" at



Vespers and Mattins, and of the teshmeshto "of one person" at Nocturns ; Class III the same but at Nocturns only.

The rules governing "occurrences" of feasts are of interest ; "concurrence" does not take place, as there are no Second Vespers.

Feasts, if one be "great," the other "small."—Usually they are kept together, the great having Vespers and Mattins and the small Nocturns and Terce. This happens, for instance, if the Forty Martyrs fall on a Sunday of Lent or Midlent Wednesday and the like. Sometimes the lesser feast only has Terce, as when the "Praises of the Mother of God" (the day after Christmas) or the Circumcision fall on a Sunday, or when feasts such as the Entrance of our Lord into the Temple (Feb. 2nd), Sts. Peter and Paul, the Transfiguration, the Assumption and Nativity of our Lady, Holy Cross, or the saint of the church fall on a Sunday "per annum." Occasionally the smaller is entirely suppressed. Such is the case when the Entrance of our Lord falls on one of the days of the Supplication of Ninive or when a feast (except the Annunciation, St. George or the feast of the church) falls on Palm Sunday or in Holy Week or on Easterday. The Office of the Supplication or of the saint disappears, as does that of the Sunday coinciding with Christmas or Epiphany.

If both feasts be "great," one is reduced in grade. Thus if the Annunciation or the saint of the church falls on a Sunday of Lent, Midlent Wednesday or the first three days of Holy Week, the latter become "small." On the other hand, if St. George, for instance, falls on Low Sunday, or the Nativity of the Baptist or Sts. Peter and Paul on Ascension or Pentecost, it is the saint's feast which becomes less and so has only Nocturns and Terce.

Translation is rare. The Entrance of our Lord falling on the "Monday of the entrance of the Fast" (the first Monday of Lent) is transferred to the Sunday of Cana, the previous day, and is "great." The Annunciation, St. George and the saint of the church, if occurring on the last three days of Holy Week or Easterday, are kept as "great" on the Monday of Easter week.

Commemorations falling on great feasts, such as Easter, certain Sundays, the ferias of Lent except Saturdays, etc., are suppressed. If on other festal or solemn days, they have a teshmeshto at Nocturns. If two of Class II occur on the same day, being a feria, one has a teshmeshto at Vespers and Mattins, the other at Nocturns. If two of different grades come together, that of Class II has a teshmeshto at Vespers and Mattins, that of Class III at Nocturns. If two of Class II or two of Class II and Class III fall on festal or solemn days other than those mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph,

one has a teshmeshto at Nocturns, the other has Terce, viz., a teshmeshto used as such.

## VII.—THE ECCLESIASTICAL YEAR.

57. The Syrian ecclesiastical year begins on the Sunday nearest to the last day of October ; it is the Sunday of the Consecration of the church. The next Sunday is of the Renewal (Dedication) of the church. Then follow the Sundays of "Annunciation," namely the Annunciation of Zacharias, the Annunciation of the Mother of God, the Visitation, the Birth of the Baptist, the Revelation to Joseph, and the Sunday before the Nativity. On the day following Christmas day are celebrated the "Praises of the Mother of God," and on the day after the Epiphany, the feast of the Baptism, the "Praises of John the Baptist." There are three to eight Sundays after the Epiphany called "Sundays of the baptized." The Supplication of Ninive, a fast, once of five days in the "West," commemorating the preaching of Jonas, is on the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday of the third week before the beginning of Lent. The next Friday is the Commemoration of departed priests, the second that of the departed, the third that of deceased strangers ; in some places these are observed on the Sundays following the Fridays.

The first Sunday of the seven of Lent is the Sunday of Cana or of the Entrance of the Fast, our Quinquagesima. On the first Saturday of Lent is the feast of Ephraim and Theodore. The fourth Wednesday is Midlent<sup>1</sup> with commemoration of the Exaltation of the Cross and the Penitence of Abgar, king of Edessa. The sixth Friday is the "Friday of the forty," *i.e.* the fortieth day of the Fast, and the next day the Saturday of Lazarus. Palm Sunday is the Feast of Hosannas, Holy Week is that of the Passion, the last three days of which are known as the Pasch of the Mysteries, Great Friday of the Crucifixion, and Saturday of Announcements.

The week following the Resurrection is that "of the white"; its Friday is the Friday of the Confessors, a feast of All Saints. Low Sunday is styled New Sunday and Paschal tide the Days of Pentecost. The Sunday after Ascension is so named. The Friday after Pentecost is Golden Friday, on which the healing of the lame man by St. Peter and St. John is commemorated ; it takes its title from "Silver and gold have I none." The first Sunday after Pentecost is the first of the seven Sundays of the Apostles, and the eighth the first of the Sundays of Summer which end before Holy Cross day. The two series together form the Sundays after Pentecost,

<sup>1</sup> The "Oil of anointing" or "of gladness," *i.e.* the Oil of Catechumens, is blessed on this day if the chrism is not consecrated on Maundy Thursday.



13 to 17 in number. Another arrangement gives Sundays up to twelve after Pentecost, then the Sunday after the Transfiguration, and four after the Assumption. The year ends with six or seven Sundays of the Cross, namely those following Holy Cross day.

Other systems are found in manuscripts. One is based on the Fast of the Three Children, whose feast is assigned to August 22nd in the ninth century Add. 14504. Manuscripts Add. 14485 (A.D. 824) from Harran and Add. 14490 (A.D. 1089) have seven Sundays after Pentecost or six of the Fast of the Apostles, followed by Friday of the Commemoration of the Apostles ; six or seven Sundays after the Fast ; seven of the Fast of the Three Children ; and seven or eight after the Fast. A variant of this is found in a Lectionary of A.D. 1539 (Mai, *Script. Vet. Nova Coll.*, IV, pp. 61 ff.), which gives six Sundays after Pentecost, ending with Friday of the Apostles ; seven after the Apostles ; four of the weeks of the Three Children ; six after the Cross ; and lastly the Sunday of the Fathers. Add. 18714 (A.D. 1214) has 12 Sundays after Pentecost, seven after the Transfiguration, and eight after the Cross.

58. The fasts among the Jacobites in addition to Wednesdays and Fridays are :—

1. Ninive (see above).—This is kept on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday up to Thursday morning, and by some up to Saturday morning.

2. Lent.—Forty days from the Monday after Quinquagesima excluding Saturdays ; to this Holy Week is added.

3. Apostles.—By some kept from the Monday following the Sunday after Pentecost to June 22nd ; by others from the next Monday, the week after Pentecost being kept in the same way as Easter week. In the “ East ” fifty days from the Monday after Pentecost. The Nestorians also have the Sundays of the Apostles and once kept the fifty days fast. In its origin it does not seem to be preparatory to the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, as the Nestorians keep this on the second Friday after the Epiphany. Both Syrians and Nestorians keep St. Thomas on July 3rd. The Nestorians commemorate the Seventy-two Disciples on the Friday after the last Sunday of the Apostles and all the Apostles on the following Sunday, the first of Summer ; as has been seen, some Jacobites kept the Apostles on the seventh Friday after Pentecost.

4. Assumption.—Fifteen days from August 1st.

5. Holy Cross.—Eight days before September 14th.

6. Christmas.—Kept in the “ West ” from December 10th, in the “ East ” from December 1st ; by ascetics from Novem-

ber 15th. This is the "Little Fast" (*Nomocanon*, V).

I am indebted for a few details in these articles to the Rev. G. Khouri-Sarkis, Rector of the Syrian Mission in Paris.

H. W. CODRINGTON.

## TWO RUSSIAN EIKONS

**R**USSIAN eikons of the *Dormition of the Holy Mother of God*, are based on the historical fact as told in the apocryphal narratives recorded in the ancient manuals of iconography. According to these Christ descended from Heaven and received the soul of His Blessed Mother who is to reign in Heaven for ever. In the meanwhile the apostles, who were scattered all over the world, were brought back to Jerusalem on clouds to be present at the passing of Our Lady. As they were on the point of carrying her body to be interred at Gethsemany, a Jew Athonius attempted to upset the bier on which Our Lady rested, but the Archangel Michael intervening cut off the infidel's arm. The Jew prayed the Mother of God's forgiveness, whereupon St. Peter touched his arm and healed it. All these incidents, with more or less complete details, are usually represented in the Russian eikons of the Dormition. Here Christ is seen holding the soul of Mary in his hands.

A delightful story is told in the *manuals* concerning St. Thomas. This apostle, who was always late, reached Jerusalem with a delay of three days. When reproved by the other apostles he showed them Our Lady's girdle, and said that being raised on the clouds like the others, he met the Blessed Virgin entering Heaven with many angels, and received from her the girdle and her blessing. Rejoiced by this favour, the apostles went to the tomb of Our Lady to honour her once more, but on opening it they found it empty. This moment of the open tomb and Our Lady carried to Heaven by angels is a favourite subject of Western iconography, but is completely unknown to the East.

St. George is represented in the East as in the West fighting the dragon who was watching his prisoners, among whom is seen the "queen Alexandra." Needless to say that the whole episode is based on the apocryphal life of this saint.

G. BENNIGSEN.



## NICOLAS BERDYAEV'S "FREEDOM AND THE SPIRIT"<sup>1</sup>

IT is extremely difficult to appraise the work of Berdyaev, particularly the book with which we are now concerned. *Freedom and the Spirit* is nebulous. When you think you have taken hold of some fixed form, some clear idea, it melts in your grasp. Yet the book is well worth careful study.

Though it is no longer believed by astronomers that our solar system arose by internal development from an original nebula, there can be little doubt that it was originally a nebula ; and whatever external agency may have been at work, the materials of which the sun and planets are composed pre-existed in the nebula. Such a nebula I find in *Freedom and the Spirit*. It is pregnant with most valuable elements, intellectual and spiritual ; but they are confused, vague, gaseous. There are powerful stimuli for the religious thinkers of the future, but no system of religious thought which we could adopt even with modifications. Indeed the author is opposed to fixed outlines. He is for Heraclitus as against Parmenides. For him spirit and the world of spirit are essentially motion, a motion which admits no crystallisation in fixed forms. If he accepts dogmas, sacraments and liturgical rites, it is as symbols of a spiritual reality which they cannot contain. In fact the old symbols are proving inadequate and the living spirit will create new. On the other hand, M. Berdyaev believes that Christianity is the absolute and final religion and bases his entire position on the dogmas of the Trinity and the two natures of Christ. Nor, I presume, would he hold that the Sacraments are among the outworn symbols to be scrapped and replaced. Looming vaguely through the fiery nebula of his thought—and it is all aflame—I seem to discern the notion of an inner fulfilment of the old forms, the doctrines and sacraments of the Christian Church, by a wider and deeper understanding of their transcendental content. But how this is to work out in practice we are not informed.

Berdyaev has a splendidly vigorous hold upon the essential freedom of the spiritual life, the conviction that in the realm of spirit compulsion, being incompatible with its essential nature, has no place. He also sees that sheer individualism is not enough. But he has not worked out the obvious distinction between authority and law based upon a non-spiritual foundation, whether force or social pressure, and an authority and law whose foundation is spiritual and which is accepted on spiritual grounds. The entire question of

<sup>1</sup> *Freedom and the Spirit* by Nicolas Berdyaev. The Centenary Press 13s.

authority and freedom demands a careful and systematic treatment and cannot be settled by an appeal to spiritual freedom against compulsion, which is irrelevant to the issue. On the other hand, the entire book is a massive protest against a merely external acceptance of doctrines without the inward realisation of their content as, for example, when an Italian Catholic accepts in theory the doctrine of Christ's mystical body and combines with it a genuine personal assent to the contradictory doctrine that war is man's noblest activity.

The same vagueness displays itself more fatally in Berdyaev's Christology. He uses language which seems to mean that the Second Person of the Trinity is eternally and as such Christ the "eternal Man." "Man is more than a simple creature, the Second Hypostasis of the Trinity is Man born in eternity." If we are to take such words in their plain meaning the Transcendence and Absolute Nature of God are denied. Man is somehow deified in his own right. Indeed Berdyaev declares that God needs man, that man is eternally the other pole of God. How are we to conceive this eternal man, this human Christ before His conception in Mary's womb? We are not informed and I am far from certain that M. Berdyaev has any clear notion himself. He is certainly not justified in appealing to bold statements by the Catholic mystic, Angelus Silesius, that man is necessary to God, Who cannot live without him. For the writer is careful to explain that he is referring not to concrete men—not even therefore to the concrete humanity of Christ—but to ideal men in the Divine Mind. Berdyaev makes no such explanation. Though he insists with justice that his Christian humanism is opposed to the secularist humanism which knows no deity above man, his own humanism is also incompatible with Christian theism. For as we have seen, it introduces human nature into the Godhead, not by a hypostatic union freely bestowed on a soul and body created out of nothing, but in its own right and *ab eterno*. The doctrine of the two natures to which Berdyaev makes constant appeal seems to be understood as two natures in the Godhead itself, somewhat as the two sexes exist in human nature.

M. Berdyaev would no doubt reply that I am falsifying his thought by crystallising it in a rigid formula. For him, a metaphysical or rational theology is impossible. The Vatican Council went far astray in maintaining that reason could establish the existence of God. We can know God solely by a religious experience which apprehends Him as a dynamic mystery transcending all the oppositions of conceptual thought. Berdyaev quotes with approval Nicholas of Cusa's statement that God is the coincidence of opposites. Therefore He can

be absolute yet eternally related to man whose love He needs, in motion and at rest.

Catholic theology, however, has never ascribed to reason more than the ability to know that God exists. It explicitly denies that reason can discover His nature, what He is. The transcendent mystery on which Berdyayev rightly insists is fully safeguarded. On the other hand, the doctrine that God is the co-existence of contradictories is seriously misleading. Though all positive values or forms of being, even those which in creatures are mutually incompatible, are contained and reconciled in the Godhead, the negations and limitations of creatures are as such excluded from It. Thus God is not at once infinitely great and infinitely small, for smallness is lack of magnitude. Nor would Nicholas of Cusa or Berdyayev maintain that God is infinitely bad as well as infinitely good. But if not, He cannot be the co-existence or identification of all contradictories. To be related, however, to any external being or to need it, is a defect of being, incompatible, therefore, with the Divine Fulness of Being. Motion, moreover, is a defect. For it is the passage from one imperfect condition to another. To reject metaphysics and affirm that qualities which reason perceives to be mutually exclusive co-exist in God involves sheer agnosticism. We cannot know that God fulfils in an infinite excess the highest values of human experience if, at the same time, He fulfils the denial of these values. Such a God could be as much the infinite void, as the infinite plenitude of being.

Nor does it follow that if motion is incompatible with the Divine perfection, that God is inert, static as we understand the term. "The Aristotelian conception of God," writes Berdyayev, "as *actus purus* deprives God of interior active life and transforms Him into a lifeless object. God is left without power; that is to say, He is no longer the 'source of movement and life.' " This is a strange misunderstanding. It is precisely the conception of God as pure act which harmonises the absolute rest of His eternity and perfection with the dynamism which is the positive aspect of motion. Because as pure act God is "the unmoving energy"; He is "the source of movement and life." As the hymn of None expresses it, "while abiding unmoved in Himself" God is "the energy of creatures" (*rerum vigor*). To be sure, this reconciliation of rest and energy is a mystery above the grasp of reason; but it is demanded by reason, not like the reconciliation of rest and motion, an evident contradiction of reason.

The fact is that as M. Berdyayev has conceded too much to contemporary humanism, he has conceded too much to its fellow error energeticism. For him as for his secularist opponents of the present day energy is prior to form, and in



the last resort form depends upon it. His opposition to Platonism is based on this fundamental perversion of the relationship between form and energy. He thus plays into the hands of that irrationalist reaction against a positivist rationalism which is so widespread and so powerful in contemporary thought and life. The Catholic philosophy which is here unfairly denounced as rationalist holds the right balance.

Berdyayev denounces the distinction between the natural and the supernatural orders made by Catholic theology on the ground that it separates nature from God. On the contrary, he declares, nature is to be spiritualised, transfigured and deified by God. This criticism combines truth and error. So far as doctrine is concerned it is unjustified. Far from making a divorce between nature and supernature, St. Thomas explicitly laid it down that "grace, 'the principle of supernature,' does not destroy but implies and perfects nature." This axiom affirms that spiritualisation and deification of nature by God, a Divine sanctification and elevation, on which Berdyayev so rightly insists. And it also provides the basis for that sanctification of creative work as distinguished from a negative and purely personal asceticism which with equal justice Berdyayev regards as one of the great tasks to be accomplished by the Christianity of the future. Moreover, if Berdyayev means that hitherto the sanctification of nature and man's natural creative achievement, *e.g.*, art, has been wholly neglected in the interests of an exclusive pre-occupation with personal holiness, he is guilty of obvious exaggeration. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the full implications of the Thomistic axiom have not penetrated the general consciousness of Catholics. The necessity to establish securely the transcendence of supernature, to overcome the world of naturalism, has inevitably produced a one-sided emphasis on the directly supernatural and religious. And this in turn has led to the one-sided reaction of secularist naturalism and humanism. For this reason Berdyayev's insistence throughout this book upon the religious value of creative work and upon the transfiguration of humanity, indeed of the entire world, is most timely and valuable. It would, however, have gained enormously in value had it been based upon the traditional Catholic foundation formulated by scholasticism instead of being falsely presented in opposition to it.

That this material world of space and time, with its mutual exclusions and oppositions, and in particular the division of the sexes, is not the original design of God but is due to a precosmic fall of humanity, is a notion which has haunted Eastern Christians. We find it already in Origen. St. Maximus

the Confessor taught that sex differentiation will have no place in the Resurrection. And that Irish philosopher who, in spite of his geographical origin—if indeed there is not something oriental in the Irish mentality—was a Russian before Russia, namely Scotus Eriugena, regards the physical universe and the sexes as the result of the Fall. Soloviev's thought on these matters ran upon similar lines. For him sex is definitely an evil to be overcome. And Professor Lossky, whose philosophy contains so much of the highest value, holds that this "world of enmity," to use his own phrase, the universe of mutually exclusive bodies, is the result of a precosmic fall. Of this school of thought Berdyaeu is an adherent. "Man after falling into a lower natural sphere is cast forth from Divine Reality. . . . The cosmos was violently separated from fallen man so that it became something external to him to which he was enslaved." Space and time are the result of sin and in particular "sex with its generative function, which subjects man to natural law and links him with the natural world." In all this there is a factor of the Gnosticism condemned by the primitive Church and indeed by Berdyaeu himself. That this lower world is to be finally transfigured and that sexual generation must finally pass away is no reason for regarding them as the result of sin any more than the fact that a man outgrows infancy is any ground for regarding infancy as evil either in itself or in its cause; and surely it is this view of nature rather than the Catholic which divorces it from and opposes it to supernature.

Despite such errors which make it impossible to accept *Freedom and the Spirit* as a satisfactory Christian philosophy, and indeed render it dangerous to those who cannot read it critically in the light of a philosophy and a theology more balanced and more complete than its author's, the book, as I said at the outset, is full of valuable and stimulating thought. Not indeed thought well defined and clearly stated, but magnificent though cloudy vistas, a womb of insights not brought to birth. It is, for example, with an exhilarating sense of enlargement that we read well deserved denunciations of what the writer calls "religious positivism," the cramping substitution of the instruments and external forms of religious truth, however necessary they may be, for that inner truth itself, the prospect of a fuller doctrine of man and the world in the light of Christian principles—though the author is but groping towards it and not always in the right direction—and the picture of the inner Church of which the external Church is but a visible reflection and embodiment, a Church so vast in its scope "that the whole of the life-process takes place within the Church, it is there that the beauty of cosmic

life flowers." It is, in fact, in this vision of the Church as the Cosmic body of God Incarnate that this book achieves its climax. "The Church is not a reality existing side by side with others. . . . The Church is all: it constitutes the whole plenitude of being, of the life of humanity, and of the world in a state of Christianisation. It possesses a cosmic nature and to forget this means decadence. . . . Those who only see in the Church an institution deny its cosmic significance. It is in the Church that the grass grows and the flowers blossom, for the Church is nothing less than the cosmos Christianised. Christ entered the cosmos. He was crucified and rose again with it, and thereby all things were made new. The whole cosmos follows His footsteps to crucifixion and to resurrection. Beauty is the Christianised cosmos in which chaos is overcome; that is why the Church may be defined as the true beauty of existence. Every achievement of beauty in the world is in the deepest sense a process of Christianisation. Beauty is the goal of all life; it is the deification of the world. Beauty as Dostoevsky has said will save the world. An integral conception of the Church is one in which it is envisaged as a Christianised cosmos, as beauty."

No doubt if we examine this passage critically we shall find vague phrases, phrases liable to grave misconstruction. For as always Berdyaev's thought is nebulous. But what invaluable elements there are in this incandescent mass. It is pregnant with an entire ideal, I might say programme, of religious reconstruction, of religious humanism. And in it Berdyaev unconsciously overcomes both his gnosticism and his energeticism. He overcomes his gnosticism—for material grass and flowers which grow and fulfil their sexual reproduction in the Church imply that matter and sex are not evil but good. In fact, he is taking up the great theme of the antignostic Irenaeus—the recapitulation of the entire world—matter as well as spirit—in the Incarnate Logos. And he overcomes energeticism; for beauty is essentially the manifestation of order and therefore of form moulding recalcitrant energies—the achievement of a "cosmos in which chaos is overcome."

It is indeed unfortunate that Berdyaev should draw from this enthralling vision of the mystical Church the conclusion that a visible unity is not only unattainable but undesirable. The visible embodiment of the one mystical body must itself be one. Berdyaev's dislike, only too well founded, for that political ecclesiasticism which has followed the Church like its shadow has led him, as it has led many other modern representatives of Orthodoxy, to overlook the necessity of one visible Community and its actual establishment by Jesus



Christ. This is the more surprising because he does not reject the "visible" Church in favour of an invisible communion of the elect. "The visible Church cannot consist only of a minority of the elect for it has a message for the whole of mankind and of the universe. From this fact there springs the whole of its negative aspect, the whole poignant tragedy of its destiny, the whole repulsive attraction of its history." It is strange that he fails to see that such a visible Church must be visibly one and that this unity cannot be compromised by the conduct of ecclesiastics. On the other hand, those who adhere to the one visible Church may and too often do overlook the invisible for whose sake alone the visible exists. Such ecclesiastical materialists would do well to contemplate this cosmic picture of the Church which Berdyaev has painted in such glowing colours, but which in its essential features was depicted nearly two thousand years ago by St. Paul in his Epistles and later by the so-called Second Epistle of St. Clement.

To conclude, *Freedom and the Spirit* is gold and alloy mingled together in a glowing mass. To all who can distinguish the gold from the alloy it can be heartily recommended, but only to them. Taken indiscriminately it must confuse judgment and insinuate dangerous errors.

E. I. WATKIN.

## NEWS AND COMMENTS

We call our readers' attention to the fact that the first issue of the E.C.Q. (No. 1, Vol. 1, January 1936) is now out of print. If there are any readers who, having finished with this copy, feel disposed to return it to our *London Agent* we will be very grateful.

Subscriptions for the E.C.Q. are now due. Please send the same to the London Agent.

### ROME.

The new Secretary of the Sacred Oriental Congregation is Cardinal Eugene Tisserant.

Cardinal Tisserant was born at Nancy on March 23rd, 1884. When of an age to undertake his ecclesiastical studies the future Cardinal applied himself to Hebrew, Syriac and a study of the Greek Fathers. In the years 1904 and 1905 he stayed in the Dominican Convent of St. Stephen's in Jerusalem. He was ordained priest at Nancy in 1907. From thenceforward he lived in Rome where he worked first in connection with the Biblical Institute and then in the Vatican Library.

He also frequently visited the East and acquired yet a greater knowledge of Oriental languages. He was raised to the Sacred Purple in the June of this year.

Seldom has a Secretary of the Oriental Congregation been so prepared for his important work.

#### THE SOCIETY OF ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM.

It was due to two of the leading members of the above Society (Doctor J. Barton and Count Bennigsen), that an "Eastern Day" was organised on July 1st at St. Edmund's College, Ware. The Slav Byzantine Liturgy was sung by the Dominican Fathers of Lille, at which all the students and staff of the Seminary assisted. This is the first time that such a Day has been held at one of the English Seminaries.

The following is taken from a letter received by Doctor Barton from Cardinal Tisserant:—

" . . . Our Sovereign Pontiff, Pius XI, gloriously reigning, has nothing more at heart than the return of our dissident brethren of the East to the unity of the true Church of Christ, and in this he has continued with paternal solicitude and charity the zealous undertakings of his predecessors on the Chair of Peter. To cite but one notable enterprise of the Holy Father, I wish to mention the Codification of Oriental Canon Law now in progress, undoubtedly one of the greatest works that have been undertaken in recent centuries on behalf of the Oriental Churches. At the same time he has ordered the teaching of Oriental Theology in all Pontifical Universities, and in all Seminaries special days dedicated to the study and discussion of the Eastern Churches, so that the wealth of theological, historical and liturgical doctrine possessed by the venerable Churches of Oriental rite may exert its beneficial influence throughout all Christendom.

" In fact, since knowledge is the basis of mutual understanding, and good will, it is imperative that we study the Christian Orient if we are animated by a sincere desire of labouring efficaciously for its welfare. Such study prompted by a priestly love of Christ's Church in its entirety will instill in us a vivid realization of the debt that all Christianity owes to the ancient communities that flourished in the lands blessed by the earthly abode of Our Blessed Saviour and by the apostolic labours of his first disciples ; it will awaken in us a heartfelt appreciation of the sufferings endured in the past and at present by these children of martyrs, who even at the sacrifice of their life-blood, in a world of infidels and pagans, have remained constant in their devotion and fidelity to the Gospel of Christ. . . . "

On September 14th another Slav Byzantine Liturgy was sung at St. Mary's Church, Cadogan Gardens. This was arranged for by the Society and it was at the invitation of the Chairman of the Society, Bishop Myers, that the Church was used.

## THE DEATH OF TWO RUSSIAN ORTHODOX BISHOPS.

ARCHBISHOP DAMIAN, administrator of the Russian Orthodox Seminary of St. Kirik's in Bulgaria.

Archbishop Damian (Dimitry Govoroff) was born on 11th February, 1855, in the region of Ekaterinoslav, of a poor priestly family. After he had finished his course at the local Seminary he desired to study Western Theology (German) in the Baltic States, but this he never realised.

His next charge was first teaching in a seminary preparatory school at Tavria and then as chaplain attached to an orphanage at Kertch. During this time he did much mission work among the poor and destitute. He became Dean of the Cathedral. From there he went to study at the Kiev University. After the death of his wife he became a monk and in 1907 and in 1911 was appointed to give lectures on the New Testament to the monks of the Kiev Lavra. In the winter of the same year he became Rector of the Kiev Seminary, receiving the title of Archimandrite. In 1916 he received his first See as Bishop of Erivan. In 1920 he was in the Crimea where he founded the Confraternity of St. Vladimir for the restoration of Faith among the Russian youth corrupted by Communistic teaching. In 1923 the Seminary of St. Kirik's was founded by the Confraternity and Bishop Damian carried on the heroic work with scarcely any funds, the students working in the fields of the monastery to keep themselves in food, and at the same time pursuing their studies.

The Archbishop (elevated in 1931) combined in his character the rigour of the old monastic piety with a wonderful large-mindedness in meeting the modern problems which confront the Russian "émigré" clergy. He was the first bishop dependent on the Synod of Karlovtsy to take part in the Church Unity Octave.

He passed away on April 19th, 1936. R.I.P.

THE METROPOLITAN ANTHONY. As we go to press we have to announce the death of Metropolitan Anthony. He was the president of the Synod of Karlovtsy. He was also a theologian of high repute and a great leader of the Russians of the emigration.

He passed away on August 11th. R.I.P.



## ARMENIAN ACTIVITY.

There have been Armenians living in Polish Galicia since at least the fourteenth century, who returned to the communion of the Holy See in the seventeenth. They long ago became polonized and many of them joined the Latin rite, but there are still some 5000 of them, with a score of churches and chapels, who keep to a very hybridized version of the Armenian Liturgy. Their archbishop, Mgr. Joseph Teodorovitch, has recently established a museum in his episcopal city of Lwow (Lemberg), the result of an exhibition of Armenian art held there in 1932. It is divided into two sections, for purely Eastern works and for those made under European influence, and it is specially rich in liturgical vestments and books. Among them is a gospel-book, of Cilician origin, written in 1197.

Catholic Armenians in another part of the world, namely, at Cairo, have been active in the establishment of a new college, which the Armenian archbishop of Alexandria, Mgr. Nesimian, has entrusted to the Mekhitarist monks of the Vienna congregation. The building, dedicated in honour of the national apostle St. Gregory the Illuminator, was recently opened, and the non-Catholic Armenians of Egypt collaborated in the work both by subscribing funds and by sending their sons as students.

In our next issue we hope to treat of the Conferences held at Velehrad in July and the Orthodox Theological Congress to be held at Athens in November.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

SIR,

H. Tatham's letter in your last issue points out the great advantages that would result from adequate provision being made for the celebration of the Church's liturgy in Oriental rites in London. There is another side of the question, that of the increasing number of Catholics belonging to Oriental rites who nowadays reside in England.

After many years residence amongst Oriental Christians, Catholic and Dissident, I am convinced that this problem can only be satisfactorily solved when it is approached from an essentially *liturgical* point of view. It should be handled by persons learned in Liturgy, who are unfortunately rarely found amongst the Oriental Catholic clergy who are nearly always trained after the Latin manner by Latin priests.

By far the most numerous body of Catholics who use the Oriental rite are those who belong to the Byzantine rite, which is identical with the rite of the Orthodox Church. It

is not possible to celebrate in this rite correctly in any church that is without an eikonostasis (a screen that hides the altar from the congregation). This dates back to early times and is absolutely essential to the rite. We must therefore have a special church for these. There are two in Paris and several in Rome.

Now the Greek Orthodox have a very fine Cathedral in London, built in quite good Byzantine style and resplendent with mosaics. We must not provide for our own people anything inferior to this. All Catholics of the Byzantine rite will I am sure be agreed that it is far better to have no church at all and to celebrate in houses (which is permitted for them) than to have one unworthy or unsuitable for their glorious ceremonies.

I cannot conclude without mention of Uniatism. By this I mean the very reprehensible tendency of Oriental Catholics to introduce into their rites things copied from the Latin rite. They do this without authority and through ignorance. They have been loyal to Christ and His Church through centuries of persecution so we must not judge them too harshly. It behoves us to study and to understand these Eastern Liturgies, then we may be quite justifiably amused by Oriental ecclesiastics dressed up in imitation of French and Italian priests and hoping thereby to impress English people!

I repeat the question is a liturgical one. It seems probable that with the growing interest in Oriental Christianity, it will resolve itself. It is surely better for Eastern Catholics to attend the Latin rite when it is rendered with liturgical correctness, than their own rite massacred.

Yours etc.,

EDWARD BOWRON.

Troodos, Cyprus.

SIR,

I was interested to read Mr. Tatham's plea in your last issue for the setting aside and furnishing of a chapel in Westminster Cathedral for the use of visiting clergy of Eastern rites; I, and others, have been advocating the same thing for a good many years.

But I now think that there is an associated matter which has a prior claim on our interest. I have reason to believe that in Manchester and perhaps other cities (Leeds?—but not London) there are enough resident Ukrainians (Ruthenians) to make highly desirable the provision of a church and priest of their own (Slav-Byzantine) rite. If this is so, such a church in Manchester or elsewhere ought to receive our attention before the provision of a "luxury" or "missionary" chapel in London.

And when such a church is provided the question of celebrating the Byzantine Liturgy in English for the benefit and safeguarding of the non-Slavonic speaking children of Ukrainians in England will become actual.

Yours etc.,

DONALD ATTWATER.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS

*Historic Cyprus.* By Rupert Gunnis. (Methuen & Co.) 8vo. 8s. 6d.

In this very interesting guide, as it is termed by the author, the most complete account is given of the 1800 churches and chapels of Cyprus. The meticulous and infinite care and trouble taken by Captain Gunnis is borne out by the fact that he visited 670 villages of the island, mainly during the last three years in which he was writing this entrancing book.

As is quite essential Prof. David Talbot-Rice, in an introduction, gives an account of "Icons and the Greek Church."

Apart from a short history of the island, this clever author clearly brings out "The Arrangement of an Orthodox Church."

Interesting local histories of the capital Nicosia are recorded as well as those of the towns of Famagusta, Larnaca, Kyrenia, Limassol and Paphos.

Apart from these, more than half this well got-up and bound book of just under 500 pages, is devoted to "The Villages, Castles and Monasteries."

Here for the first time we have most intimate, charming and enchanting stories and legends of all the cathedrals, churches, chapels, mosques and shrines in the whole country.

In this island of myth and history "in 1260 Pope Alexander IV issued the famous *Bulla Cypria* whereby the Latin Archbishop was made the supreme ecclesiastical chief of Latins and Orthodox alike." Apart from ruins, both Maronites and Catholics are represented with their own churches and clergy to-day.

From the Christian point of view, Salamis is noted as the birthplace of the Apostle Barnabas. Then again at Paphos the Apostle Paul converted the Roman Governor Sergius Paulus to Christianity. The finding of the sepulchre of St. Barnabas, "the remains of the Saint with a copy of St. Matthew's Gospel in Barnabas's own handwriting on the breast" led to the foundation of the Autocephalos Church of Cyprus.

The Cypriot Primates have since had the right of signing in red ink, wearing a purple cloak and carrying an imperial sceptre at the festivals of the Church.

A. H. UNWIN.



*The Ethiopian Church.* By de Lacy O'Leary, D.D. (S.P.C.K.)  
2s. net.

This booklet must be classed with the Archbishop of Westminster's recent article in the *Dublin Review* as one of the few reliable and adequate accounts of the Church of Ethiopia that the events of the past year have called forth. The learned author has got into 80 pages all that the ordinary reader wants to know about the history of the Monophysite Christians in Ethiopia, which involves a good deal about the secular history of the country as well. Dr. O'Leary's account of and judgments upon various phases in this history are characterized by a notable moderation, and this combined with his sound scholarship make a book which we hope will have a very wide circulation indeed.

D.D.A.

*The Breviary and the Laity.* Translated from the French of Rev. Rodolphe Hoornaert. (The Liturgical Press, Collegeville, Minnesota.) Paper, 120 pp., 35 cents net.

We consider that the translation of Abbé Hoornaert's little book is of great importance for it is one of the few books we know of in English that gets down to the roots of the Liturgical Movement. It does not overburden the reader with either historical or rubrical details about the Roman Breviary (although what is necessary is set forth), but it treats of the Breviary from the point of view of a complete prayer book. Hence it shows that the Breviary not only can be used but is the best possible book (together with the Missal) to use for all who take their prayers seriously and aim at union with God.

One regrets that no direct attention is given to the prayer of *forced acts of the will* whereas there are references to ligature and ecstasy.

It is greatly to be desired that the Liturgical Movement in this country and in the U.S.A. should not only make the Liturgy popular, *i.e.* so that the people can join in it, but that people should be made to see that it is fundamental in their spiritual life.

B.W.

*Liturgy and Life.* By Dom Rembert Bularzik, O.S.B. A Reprint from *Orate Fratres*. Vol. VI, Nos. 6 and 7. (The Liturgical Press, Collegeville, Minnesota.) Booklet, 22 pp., 3 cents net.

This booklet endeavours to acquaint the reader with the close relationship between the Liturgy of the Church and the daily life of the Christian.

The Liturgy is considered in its most complete sense, including the administration of the Sacraments and the Divine Office as well as Holy Mass.

B.W.

*St. Bonaventure's Seminary Year Book.* (St. Bonaventure, New York.)

It is gratifying evidence of the increasing interest taken in Eastern Christianity that St. Bonaventure's Seminary should have this year devoted the whole of its year-book to various aspects of that subject. It consists of twenty-three papers by the students, dealing with such topics as the Byzantine schism, psychological impediments to reunion, the persecution in Russia, the *epiklesis* question, contrasting disciplines, and so on. Without doubt one of the most interesting of the essays is that on Oriental Catholics in U.S.A., giving some particulars of the first emigrants and their priests; and there is also one on promoting reunion in America. The editor and writers must all be congratulated on the enthusiasm and hard work that have been put into this volume.

D.D.A.

*Der Christliche Orient in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart.* (1st year, 1936, Heft 2.)

This Quarterly of 32 pages is published by the Catholica Unio (Munich) and edited by Dr. Chrysostomus Bauer, O.S.B. The editor describes the origin, aim and actual organization of St. Andrew's College at Munich. To form priests for the Russian Mission is the main purpose of this seminary. It was inaugurated in 1932 and Dr. Bauer was appointed Rector, and within a year the number amounted to ten, Orientals and Germans. Two historical articles treat of the Christian past of Bulgaria and Georgia. A German translation of an Oriental hymn in honour of St. John the Baptist, and of a Greek hymn of Whitsunday, a small meditation on Pentecost and a chronicle make up the rest of the contents. Several illustrations add to the sober attractiveness of this new-comer in the Oriental world. May it prosper!

T.W.

*Werkeblätter*, 1936 (9 Jahr), consecrates an entire number to the question of reunion (Heft 1). The occasion was a day of reunion held at the Benedictine Abbey of Niederaltaich and organized by the Very Rev. Emmanuel Heufelder. The 'Neudeutscher Älterenbund' has since created a new branch in its organization, exclusively devoted to the Oriental problem. The contents of this number of that Society's publication are interesting to a degree. It is typical of this new effort that

it is based on the idea that the Liturgy, taking this term in its deepest and most vital sense, is the best and by far the safest and most lasting common ground on which to work the problem of Reunion. The more we penetrate into the essence of Christianity the less important will become the accidental questions of history and mentality which at present however are the cause of so much prejudice. This was the line of thought that Soloviev took.

T.W.













*Courtesy of*

AN ETHIOPIAN PROCESSIONAL CROSS.

*British Museum.*





*Courtesy of*

*Father G. Khouri,*

### SYRIAN PATRIARCHAL CHURCH OF BEYRUT.

The tendency of smaller Eastern bodies to copy their greater neighbours is illustrated in the photograph of the Syrian patriarchal church at Beyrut. This modern building has neither screen nor curtains; the altar, too, resembles that of a Latin church, though apart from the "throne" over the tabernacle it differs from certain Jacobite altars mainly in its neatness and symmetry. Western influence also is to be seen in the vestments. The Roman pallium, of course, is a thing apart, and in the adoption of the mitre the Syrians have but followed the example of the Armenians. But we may notice the lace albs, the spade-like ending of the sub-deacons' and readers' stoles, and the orphreys of the paino. The explanation of all this is to be found, not in any policy on the part of the Latins, but in the Syrians themselves. It is easy to buy vestments ready made; a Latin cope with the hood taken off does well enough as a paino. Add to this a lack of good taste and the result is the hybrid revealed in the photograph. The monastic establishment at Sharfeh in the Lebanon surely should find it possible to lead the way, not only in liturgical purity, but also in good taste.

The priest seated by the patriarch and vested in the paino takes the place of the archdeacon; he is holding the staff of which the head consists of two serpents. Another priest in stole and cuffs on the other side of the patriarch holds the censer with the usual short chains. Note also the sub-deacons with the fans on either side of the altar, and the processional cross in the front of the picture with its pendent flag or veil.

H.W.C.





The Conference at Karlovatz in October, 1935, under the Patriarch Varnava, of Serbia, where the divisions of the Russian Emigré Church were healed.



METROPOLITAN THEOPILOS, MET. ANTONY, PATRIARCH BARNABAS OF SERBIA, MET. EOLGIUS AND MET. ANASTASSY.

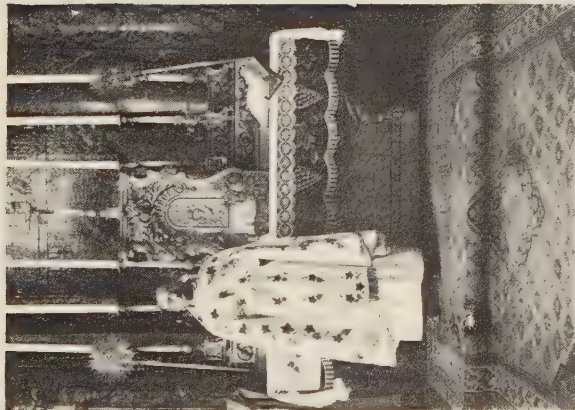






MGR. KHOUZAM, BISHOP OF THEBES,  
AND SOME OF HIS CLERGY.





*By courtesy of Father G. Khouri.*

These are photographs of a Catholic Syrian priest in Liturgical Vestments. (Vid. *The Syrian Liturgy* in E.C.Q. No. 1, Vol. 1, p. 17, etc.) The priest is shown wearing alb, stole, girdle, cuffs, and the phaino (cope like paenula). At the back is the very Latin looking altar of the Syrian Church in Paris. The rector of this church intends to have a *screen* (without pictures) with its three entrances across the sanctuary. In the photographs may also be seen the fans and the paten and chalice covered with their metal crowns (vid. supra. in E.C.Q. No. 2, Vol. 1, p. 46, etc.) In i they are on the altar. In ii the priest is seen blessing the people with them before Communion. (Vid. supra. in E.C.Q. No. 3, Vol. 1, p. 95, etc.)—Editor.







*By courtesy of C. F. L. St. George.*

DORMITION OF OUR LADY  
16th Century, Moscow School







*By courtesy of C. F. L. St. George.*

ST. GEORGE  
17th Century, Northern School











